595 /35 cont./ But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebaᶜ, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkasit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]
1

/35 cont./

184 343 712 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a [171] fortiori among the Ud Besseba[c] Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 178 592 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced, before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habitat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own. [593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the [591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 592 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
turn by the spouses in a single place: africh in Mtugga, kech-
[178] china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the disper-
sion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

578/266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fāẓ', most often confused with those of istir^{c}ā'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the
762 group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
784 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
787 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;

2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fâtih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

/342 cont./

586 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can ob-
562 tain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison
171 between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of de-
584 parture. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where
171 the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584 1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by
171 G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes
114 kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

/346 cont./

585 675 175 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose, wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the two married people. The ṣadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money, ᶜabbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a ṣadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 [562] However that may be then, not only in the division of the acquests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity. One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contractual acuity. Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

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1. Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet.

/363 cont./

432 [195] [175] country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093 Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the forest," jami^{c} mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 423 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794 423 428 • 562 2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 423 428 562 [432] [184]

/footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is exercised not only in the margin, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ lh'âchit, that the "agnatic sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant procedural theme. The women's share often being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will later bring about their annulment for all that concerns the women's share, and without prescription intervening. On the other hand, in neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example, if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ monograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa, a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 428 562 [171]

From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is formally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 428 [175]

War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An interesting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamulîî. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
(695) jrida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant. if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
(177) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
(178) inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
(173) suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
67 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed
(562) property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
(184) ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

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621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

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562 The Berbère /Berber/ woman, without having in this region the independence that she has kept in central Morocco, nevertheless is not put under the strict tutelage and in the semiservitude that is observed among the Arabized tribes of the plain and is a consequence of complete Islamization. It is not rare to see appear in the history of the southern tribes some energetic mother who protects the goods of her orphan children and sometimes even secretly directs the politics of a canton.

565 IX. The social classes. -- This society, composed of distinct family groups among which the political constitutions try to make the principle of equality prevail, is nevertheless not at all democratic. On the contrary, it includes classes that can, according to the respect that they enjoy, be ordered hierarchically.

565 792 The most respected is that of the marabouts and shorfa /shurfa/. These personages are in principle the descendants of the saints, celebrated for their virtues or their learning, and those of the members of the Prophet's family. As a matter of fact, most of the families that can refer to Arab ancestors claim a sherifian origin, such as the Oulad ben Seba^{c}, who are only Ma^{c}qil, or again the Ilalen Berbères /Berbers/, whose name, transcribed in the Arabic /45/ form of "Hilala," gives rise to confusion with that of the "Banou Hilal" invaders.

The marabouts, who live grouped around the tomb of a known and respected ancestor, form small separate groups who govern themselves and most often remain removed from the political rivalries of the other Berbère /Berber/ "ikhs." Settled on the best lands, near springs and in the richest valleys, their number reaches, according to the region, one-fifth or one-tenth of the total population, and sometimes they constitute veritable small separate states within the tribes.

565 Then comes the "^{c}amma," which is the bulk of the autochthons, into which all the foreign elements melt little by little. It is divided into confederations, tribes, fractions, and subfractions, whose structure and political evolution we shall study further on.

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771 entirely; in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like beliefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
771 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
789 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

• 562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives, regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
[787] Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

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443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
•562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

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/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

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In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

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For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

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1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

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343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [184] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard receives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [465] [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562] • out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361] in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described •••

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wariyaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to